

Message Text

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ACTION MBFR-03

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-02 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00

NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-12 EUR-25

NEA-10 GAC-01 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 IO-13 OIC-04 AEC-11

AECE-00 ACDA-19 OMB-01 RSR-01 /154 W

----- 097977

P R 011251 Z JUN 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9061

INFO SECDEF/ WASHDC PRIORITY

MBFR CAPITALS 530

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR/ SHAPE

USLOSACLANT

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USDEL SALT TWO II

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE UNN

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 4 VIENNA 4539

GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

EO: 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM

SUBJ: MBFR: AD HOC GROUP MEETING, MAY 30, 1973

1. SUMMARY: DISCUSSION FOCUSED ON COMMUNIQUE DRAFTING AND ON QUESTION OF SOVIET COMMITMENT TO DATE FOR MBFR NEGOTIATIONS. ITALIAN, TURKISH, AND NORWEGIAN REPS, SUPPORTED BY BELGIAN REP EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT COMMUNIQUE FORMULATIONS SHOULD NOT PREJUDICE RIGHT OF SPECIAL PARTICIPANTS TO EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS DURING NEGOTIATIONS. GROUP AGREED THAT IT WAS NECESSARY TO CONTINUE STRONG EFFORTS TO RETAIN WORD " BALANCE" IN SOME PART OF COMMUN-
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IQUE IF NOT IN TITLE ITSELF, AND TO RELATE IT CONCEPTUALLY TO A STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH. REGARDING DATE FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS, CANADIAN REP, READING FROM INSTRUCTIONS, EMPHASIZED NEED FOR AGREEMENT IN NAC PRIOR TO ALLIED AGREEMENT ON DATE EITHER IN VIENNA OR HELSINKI, STATING THAT CSCE DATE SHOULD BE AGREED AFTER ASSURANCE FROM THE EAST ON A FIRM OPENING DATE FOR MBFR. BELGIAN REP SAID THAT HIS INSTRUCTIONS CALLED FOR PRESSING THE SOVIETS ON THEIR EARLIER COMMITMENT TO THE SEPTEMBER/ OCTOBER TIME FRAME AND, IF THAT WERE NOT SUCCESSFUL, FOR RECESSING THE VIENNA EXPLORATORY TALKS UNTIL AFTER THE NIXON-BREZHNEV SUMMIT. NETHERLANDS REP SAID THAT, WHILE HIS AUTHORITIES BELIEVED A LINK WITH CSCE DATE SHOULD BE MADE, THIS LINK SHOULD NOT BE DRAWN BY ALLIED EMISSARIES IN VIENNA. END SUMMARY.

2. CHAIRMAN (UK REP THOMSON) OPENED MEETING BY SUGGESTING THAT DISCUSSION FOCUS ON TEXT OF COMMUNIQUE AS IT EMERGED FROM MAY 29 DRAFTING SESSION (SEE VIENNA 4471).

3. TURKISH REP (TULUMEN) SAID HE HAD TWO PROBLEMS WITH COMMUNIQUE AS IT HAD EVOLVED, ONE ON THE RIGHTS OF PARTICIPANTS TO RAISE SUBJECTS, THE OTHER ON QUESTION OF WORKING BODIES. IN DISCUSSIONS MAY 29, THE SOVIETS HAD SAID THAT THEY AGREED IN SUBSTANCE WITH THE ALLIED VIEW THAT ONLY DIRECT PARTICIPANTS SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO RAISE TOPICS FOR NEGOTIATION. THIS POINT WAS ALSO REFLECTED IN THE TEXT AS DEVELOPED MAY 29. THIS POSED PROBLEMS, SINCE EARLIER THE ALLIES HAD SPOKEN ABOUT THE RIGHT OF DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TO RAISE SUBJECTS IN CONNECTION WITH AGENDA -- NOW, IT APPEARED THAT THE SUBJECT WAS BEING GENERALIZED TO COVER ALL ASPECTS OF NEGOTIATIONS. ON THE QUESTION OF WORKING BODIES OR GROUPS, IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE SOVIETS WANTED ONLY DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TO BE INVOLVED. TURKISH REP WOULD APPRECIATE ANY FURTHER INFORMATION ON SOVIET ATTITUDES ON THIS MATTER, SINCE IT WAS OF INTEREST TO ANKARA.

4. THE ITALIAN REP (TALIANI) SAID THAT HE WAS CONCERNED WITH THE SAME SUBJECTS AS HIS TURKISH COLLEAGUE. HE WOULD FIND THE LANGUAGE AS DEVELOPED MAY 29 ON THE RIGHT OF PARTICIPANTS TO RAISE TOPICS FOR NEGOTIATION TO BE MUCH MORE SATISFACTORY IF IT COULD ALSO INCLUDE THE CONCEPT DEFINED IN PARA 6 OF THE MAY 14 PARTICIPATION AND PROCEDURES PACKAGE THAT ALL PARTICIPANTS COULD SPEAK AND CIRCULATE PAPERS ON THE SUBJECT MATTER. THUS, HE WOULD LIKE

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THE COMMUNIQUE TO EXPRESS THE THOUGHT THAT DIRECT PARTICIPANTS COULD RAISE ANY TOPIC RELEVANT TO THE SUBJECT MATTER FOR NEGOTIATION, BUT THAT THIS WAS WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE RIGHT OF ALL PARTICIPANTS TO SPEAK AND CIRCULATE PAPERS ON THE SUBJECT MATTER. THE US REP SAID THAT HE AND THE UK REP HAD ALREADY RAISED THIS IDEA WITH THE EAST, BUT WOULD BE PREPARED TO PROPOSE IT AGAIN. ON THE QUESTION OF WORKING BODIES OR GROUPS, THE ITALIAN REP SAID THAT

HE MUCH PREFERRED THE PHRASE " WORKING GROUPS" TO " WORKING BODIES," SINCE BODIES WAS AN UNFAMILIAR WORD, AND IT SEEMED TO CONTAIN MORE CONNOTATIONS OF EXCLUDING NON- PARTICIPANTS THAN " WORKING GROUPS." THE ITALIAN VIEW WAS THAT THE ITALIAN DELEGATION WAS IN VIENNA IN THE CAPACITY OF A SPECIAL PARTICIPANT AND NOT MERELY AS A MEMBER OF THE AD HOC GROUP. THE ITALIAN OBJECTIVE WAS TO FOLLOW CLOSELY EVERY STEP OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. THIS COULD NOT BE DONE IF SPECIAL PARTICIPANTS WERE EXLUDED FROM ATTENDING OR LISTENING TO ANY OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. THIS OBJECTIVE WOULD BE FACILITATED IF THE PHRASE " WORKING BODIES" WERE DELETED FROM THE DRAFT COMMUNIQUE. IT WOULD OF COURSE BE EVEN BETTER IF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF WORKING BODIES OR GROUPS COULD BE DROPPED FROM THE DRAFT ON THE GROUNDS THAT IT WAS A TECHNICAL QUESTION ON WHICH ORAL ALLIED ASSURANCES HAD ALREADY BEEN GIVEN TO THE EAST. THE UK REP SAID THAT HE AND THE US REP HAD ALREADY SOUGHT TO DROP THE PHRASE " WORKING BODIES" FROM THE DRAFT, BUT WOULD BE PREPARED TO PURSUE THE SUBJECT FURTHER.

5. THE NORWEGIAN REP (WIKBERG) SUPPORTED THE ITALIAN REP ON THE QUESTION OF ADDING PARAGRAPH 6 OF THE MAY 14 AGREEMENT TO THE DRAFT COMMUNIQUE PORTION ON RIGHTS OF PARTICIPANTS. AS FOR THE QUESTION OF " BODIES" VERSUS " GROUPS" HE FELT THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE TWO WAS UNIMPORTANT SO LONG AS BOTH WERE IN THE PLURAL.

6. BELGIAN REP (ADRIAENNSSEN) SAID THAT HE WISHED TO SUPPORT THE COMMENTS OF THE TURKISH REP ON PARTICIPATION. THE US REP SAID THAT THERE WAS A DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE RIGHT TO INTRODUCE SUBJECTS FOR ACTUAL NEGOTIATION WITHOUT HAVING TO REACH PRIOR AGREEMENT ON AN AGENDA DURING NEGOTIATIONS, AND THE

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ACTION MBFR-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-13 ADP-00 RSR-01 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-02

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15

USIA-12 NEA-10 GAC-01 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OIC-04 AEC-11

ACDA-19 OMB-01 /154 W

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P R 011251 Z JUN 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9062
INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
ALL MBFR CAPITALS 531
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
USMISSION GENEVA
USNMR SHAPE
USLOSACLANT
USCINCEUR
USDOCOSOUTH
USDEL SALT TWO II

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 4 VIENNA 4539

GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

QUESTION OF RAISING SUBJECT FOR DISCUSSION. THE FORMER WAS WHAT WAS AT ISSUE IN THE COMMUNIQUE DRAFTING SESSIONS WITH THE EAST, AND THE STANCE OF THE ALLIED REPS ON THIS SUBJECT HAD BEEN CONSISTENT WITH CONCIL INSTRUCTIONS TO PROTECT THE ALLIED POSITION ON AGENDA. ON THE QUESTION OF WORKING GROUPS AND BODIES, HIS OWN VIEW WAS THAT THE EASTERN INTENTIONS WERE PROBABLY THE EXCLUSION OF SPECIAL PARTICIPANTS. AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, THIS A PROBLEM WHICH COULD NOT BE RESOLVED AT THIS JUNCTURE. TO TRY TO TACKLE IT NOW WOULD RESULT IN ENDLESS CONTROVERSY. BY PUTTING THE CONCEPT OF WORKING BODIES OR GROUPS INTO THE PLURAL, THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THESE TERMS WAS DILUTED VIRTUALLY TO THE

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POINT OF MEANINGLESSNESS. AS FOR THE TERM " BODIES" VERSUS " GROUPS," THEY MEANT ESSENTIALLY THE SAME THING AND HE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT A MAJOR EFFORT TO ELIMINATE THE WORD " BODIES" WAS ADVISABLE; INSTEAD, THE ALLIES IN THE FUTURE COULD PUSH TO USE THE WORK " GROUPS" RATHER THAN " BODIES." THE FRG REP SAID THAT HE WAS NOT CONCERNED BY THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE WORDS " BODIES" AND " GROUPS," AND, IN FACT, THOUGHT THAT HAVING BOTH TERMS PROVIDED FLEXIBILITY FOR PUTTING THE CONCEPT INTO EFFECT.

7. THE TURKISH REP ASKED WHAT THE ALLIED REACTION WOULD BE WHEN THE EAST RAISED THE QUESTION OF HAVING ONLY DIRECT PARTICIPANTS INVOLVED IN WORKING GROUPS. WOULD THE ALLIES OPPOSE THE EAST ON THIS OR WOULD THEY AGREE ON THE BASIS OF THE SO- CALLED " ROMANIAN DANGER?" FURTHER, HE WAS NOT PLEASED WITH THE SENTENCE IN THE DRAFT COMMUNIQUE ON THE RIGHT OF DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TO RAISE TOPICS FOR NEGOTIATIONS, SINCE HE DID NOT SEE HOW THIS PHRASE COULD PREVENT THE SOVIETS FROM BLOCKING DISCUSSIONS OF SUBJECTS IF THEY WISHED TO DO SO.

8. CHAIRMAN RETURNED DISCUSSION TO DRAFT TEXT AS IT EMERGED

FROM DISCUSSIONS ON MAY 29. HE ASKED IF THE GROUP WOULD AGREE THAT THE ALLIES REPS NEED NOT INSIST THAT THE MAY 14 PROCEDURES AND PARTICIPATION AGREEMENT BE APPENDED TO THE COMMUNIQUE TEXT. THE ITALIAN REP SAID THAT, IF SOMETHING WERE OBTAINED IN EXCHANGE, SUCH AS HIS SUGGESTION TO INCLUDE PARAGRAPH 6 OF THE MAY 14 AGREEMENT, THIS WOULD BE POSSIBLE.

9. THE UK REP ASKED IF THE GROUP COULD AGREE TO THE DESIGNATION AS BRACKETED IN PARAGRAPH 2 OF THE DRAFT COMMUNIQUE, " MUTUAL REDUCTION OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS AND ASSOCIATED MEASURES IN CENTRAL EUROPE." THE FRG REP (RUTH) SAID THIS FORMULATION POSED PROBLEMS SINCE IT WOULD MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO ARGUE THAT HUNGARY WAS NOT IN CENTRAL EUROPE AND THUS NEED NOT BE COVERED BY ASSOCIATED MEASURES. THUS, COULD THE DISIGNATION NOT BE REPHRASED TO READ ALONG THE LINES " MUTUAL REDUCTION OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE AND ASSOCIATED MEASURES?" THE UK AND US REPS INDICATED THEIR BELIEF THAT SUCH A REPHRASING COULD MEAN THAT MEASURES COULD BE WORLD- WIDE, INCLUDING THE TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES. THE FRG REP SAID HE WOULD STILL PREFER THE VARIANT HE HAD SUGGESTED, AND WAS SUPPORTED IN THIS BY THE NETHERLANDS REP. THE GREEK REP SAID THAT THE FRG

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SUGGESTION COULD POSE POTENTIAL PROBLEMS FOR THE SOUTHERN FLANKS BY PROVIDING OPENING FOR THE EAST TO SEEK TO INVOLVE IT IN AGREEMENTS. THE ITALIAN REP SECONDED THE GREEK REP. THE FRG REP SAID THAT THE ISSUE OF GEOGRAPHIC APPLICATION OF CONSTRAINTS WAS UNDER DISCUSSION IN BRUSSELS, AND WONDERED IF THE FORMULA IN THE DRAFT COMMUNIQUE MIGHT NOT PREJUDICE THE OUTCOME OF THIS DISCUSSION. HE INDICATED, HOWEVER, THAT HE WOULD NOT INSIST ON HIS SUGGESTION.

10. THE UK REP TURNED TO THE FIRST SENTENCE IN PARAGRAPH 2 UNDER THE CAPTION " SENTENCES DISCUSSES," INDICATING THAT IT WAS CLEAR TO BOTH SIDES THAT THE ORDER OF THESE SENTENCES REMAINED TO BE DETERMINED. GROUP HAD NO PROBLEMS WITH THE FIRST SENTENCE, INDICATING THAT A USEFUL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS HAD BEEN HELD. ON THE SECOND SENTENCE, " IT WAS AGREED THAT THE GENERAL OBJECTIVE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE TO CONTRIBUTE TO A MORE STABLE RELATIONSHIP AND TO THE STRENGTHENING OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE." THE FRG REP ASKED IF IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE TO INTRODUCED THE CONCEPT OF " APPROPRIATE MEASURES." INCLUDING THE REDUCTION OF FORCES. THE UK REP SAID THAT THE EAST HAD OPPOSED THE WORD " MEASURES," BUT THAT HE AND THE US REP WOULD BE PREPARED TO TRY AGAIN ON THIS SUBJECT.

11. TURNING TO THE THIRD SENTENCE, DEALING WITH THE SUBJECT MATTER OF THE NEGOTIATIONS IN CENTRAL EUROPE, UK REP NOTED THAT THE WORDING " FOCUSSING ON CENTRAL EUROP" HAD BEEN REJECTED BY THE SOVIETS, BUT THAT THE WORDING AS DEVELOPED IN THE DRAFT USING THE VERB CONSIDERED AVOIDED THE CONNOTATION THAT

THE AGENDA HAD BEEN DISCUSSED, WITH THE SPECIFIC OUTCOME AGREEMENT ON MUTUAL REDUCTION OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE. AT THE SAME TIME, IT GAVE THE SOVIETS SOMETHING WHICH THEY COULD CHOOSE TO INTERPRET AS A RESULT OF AN AGENDA DISCUSSION.

12. TURNING TO THE FOURTH SENTENCE, " IN VIEW OF THE COMPLEXITY OF THE SUBJECT MATTER, IT WAS CONSIDERED THAT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, AN UNDERSTANDING SHOULD BE REACHED BRACKETS HOW TO CONDUCT THEM MORE EFFECTIVELY END BRACKETS ," THE UK REP INDICATED THAT THIS WORDING HAD BEEN THE SUBJECT OF LONG ARGUMENT WITH THE EASTERN REPS. THE FRG REP SAID THAT THE LANGUAGE WAS NOT SATISFACTORY, AND THAT A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING RELATING TO THE CONCEPT OF A PHASED APPROACH SHOULD BE EMBODIED IN THE TEXT. TO THIS END,

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THE FRG REP PROPOSED THE FOLLOWING SENTENCE: " IT WAS CONSIDERED THAT, IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, AN UNDERSTANDING SHOULD BE REACHED ON AN EFFECTIVE AND CAREFUL APPROACH TO THE COMPLEXITY OF THE SUBJECT MATTER." AS AN ALTERNATIVE, HE SUGGESTED, "..... AN UNDERSTANDING SHOULD BE REACHED ON HOW TO CONDUCT NEGOTIATIONS MOST EFFECTIVELY WITH DUE REGARD FOR THE CARE AND CIRCUMSPECTION REQUIRED BY THE COMPLEXITY OF THE SUBJECT MATTER." OR A VARIANT WHICH WOULD INDICATE THAT NEGOTIATIONS WOULD TAKE " DUE REGARD FOR THE PRUDENCE REQUIRED BY THE COMPLEXITY OF THE SUBJECT MATTER." THE

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MRN: 1973VIENNA004539 SEGMENT NUMBER: 000003 ERROR READING TEXT INDEX

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MRN: 1973VIENNA004539 SEGMENT NUMBER: 000004 ERROR READING TEXT INDEX

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*** Current Classification *** SECRET

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Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
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